

## Message Text

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ACTION PRS-01

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 SSO-00 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 SS-15  
DHA-02 NEA-10 AF-08 SP-02 IO-13 ACDA-10 /079 W  
-----272126Z 002778 /66

O 272020Z MAR 77 ZFF-6  
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 SECTO 03015

FOR S/PRS: DEPARTMENT PASS NSC FOR DR. BRZEZINKSI  
AND WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. POWELL; USIA FOR IPS/PE

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: SOPN, PFOR, OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS R)  
SUBJECT: SECVISIT

REF: STATE 056619

FOLLOWING IS TRANSCRIPT OF SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE'S PRESS  
BRIEFING ON BOARD THE SECRETARY'S AIRCRAFT MARCH 26.

BEING TEXT:

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, WHAT ARE YOUR MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM  
GOALS FOR THIS TRIP TO MOSCOW?

SECRETARY VANCE: AS I INDICATED LAST NIGHT OUR GOAL IS TO SEE  
IF WE CAN IN THESE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS REACH AGREEMENT  
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ON A FRAMEWORK WHICH WOULD GUIDE THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WILL HAVE  
TO FOLLOW IN GENEVA FOR A SALT II AGREEMENT. IN ESSENCE WE WILL BE PRE-

SENTING TWO ALTERNATIVE PACKAGES TO THE SOVIETS WITH THE HOPES  
THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH THEM AS TO ONE OF  
THE TWO PACKAGES AND THUS PROVIDE THE FRAMEWORK WHICH I HAVE  
REFERRED TO.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY DO YOU EXPECT THE SOVIET REPLY DURING THESE THREE DAYS OR DO YOU THINK THERE WILL BE A REQUEST ON THEIR PART TO STUDY IT BEFORE THEY ACTUALLY GIVE YOU A FORMAL REPLY?

SECRETARY VANCE: I WOULD EXPECT THAT THEY WOULD GIVE US A FORMAL REPLY DURING THE PERIOD WE ARE IN MOSCOW.

QUESTION: DO YOU AND THE PARTY SEEM VERY OPTIMISTIC? A SENSE, A FEELING OF OPTIMISM OF COMING AWAY WITH SOMETHING?

SECRETARY VANCE: NO, I'VE NEVER SAID I WAS VERY OTIMISTIC BUT THE PRESIDENT HAS SAID THAT WE HAVE HIGH HOPES THAT WE WOULD BE ABLE TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIETS. I DON'T WANT TO CHARACTERIZE OUTSELVES AS VERY OTIMISTIC. WE WILL BE HOPEFUL AND THUS HOPE TO ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVE WHICH I MENTIONED TO YOU A MINUTE AGO.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, ON THE AGENDA ITEM OF TALKING TO THE SOVIETS ABOUT FOREIGN INFLUENCE IN AFRICA, WILL YOU BE CONCENTRATING ON, WILL YOU BE TALKING ABOUT SPECIFICS SUCH AS ANGOLA, ZAIRE OR SOMALIA OR ARE YOU GOING TO BE TALKING ABOUT IT IN A MORE GENERAL FRAMEWORK?

SECRETARY VANCE: I WOULD EXPECT THAT WE WOULD DISCUSS BOTH THE GENERAL AND THE SPECIFIC.

QUESTION: WOULD YOU BE TALKING ABOUT SOMETHING AS SPECIFIC  
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AS THE CUBAN PRESENCE IN ANGOLA, SOMETHING THEY REFUSED TO BE FORTHCOMING ON WHEN SECRETARY KISSINGER WAS HERE A YEAR AGO?

SECRETARY VANCE: LET ME SAY THAT I WILL DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF FOREIGN PRESENCE IN AFRICA AND THE FACT AS I HAVE PUBLICLY STATED BEFORE THAT I THINK THAT THIS IS UNHELPFUL AND THAT THE PROBLEMS OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT SHOULD BE RESOLVED BY AFRICANS AND NOT BY OUTSIDE FORCES.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, WHEN YOU INDICATE YOU HAVE TWO PACKAGES, ON IS A LARGE COMPREHENSIVE ONE AND ONE IS (INAUDIBLE) PACKAGE AREN'T YOU AUTOMATICALLY SAYING THAT WHAT YOU'RE REALLY GOING TO BE TALKING ABOUT HERE IS THE (INAUDIBLE) PACKAGE?

SECRETARY VANCE: I HOPE NOT. NO, I HOPE VERY MUCH THAT WE WILL SPEND OUR TIME TALKING ABOUT THE COMPREHENSIVE PACKAGE. THAT CLEARLY IN MY VIEW IS THE PREFERRED PACKAGE. IT IS A PACKAGE THAT REALLY GETS TO THE HEART OF ARMS CONTROL AND THIS IS THE ONE WHICH WE CLEARLY PREFER AND THUS HOPE THAT IT CAN BE THE CENTRAL PIECE

OF OUR DISCUSSION.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, THERE IS SOME CONFUSION BECAUSE OF SOMETHING THAT AMBASSADOR RAMSBOTHAM MENTIONED AT THE AIRPORT. IS THERE ANY CONSIDERATION BEING GIVEN TO EXTENDING YOUR MOSCOW VISIT BY A DAY OR TWO DAYS IF PROGRESS IS BEING MADE?

SECRETARY VANCE: THERE CERTAINLY IS. IF WE ARE MAKING PROGRESS AND IF WE HAVEN'T COMPLETED OUR WORK I WOULD BE CERTAINLY DELIGHTED TO STAY ON AND PURSUE OUR DISCUSSIONS.

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ACTION PRS-01

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
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FOR S/PRS: DEPARTMENT PASS NSC FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI  
AND WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. POWELL; USIA FOR IPS/PE

E.O. 11652: N/A

QUESTION: HOW LONG, A DAY OR TWO?

SECRETARY VANCE: HOWEVER LONG IT TAKES.

QUESTION: HOW IMPORTANT IS THE (INAUDIBLE)?

SECRETARY VANCE: THE SOVIETS HAVE INDICATED IN THE PAST THAT THEY ARE INTERESTED IN THE SUBJECT OF TRADE AND I WOULD THEREFORE THINK THAT WE WOULD HAVE A FULL AND THOROUGH DISCUSSION OF THE

TRADE ISSUE.

QUESTION: WHAT SPECIFICALLY DO YOU HOPE TO ACCOMPLISH IN TERMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST? I UNDERSTAND YOU WERE SOMEWHAT ENCOURAGED BY BREZHNEV'S SPEECH AS IT RELATED TO THAT.

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SECRETARY VANCE: I WOULD EXPECT THAT WE WOULD MERELY HAVE A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE MIDDLE EAST WITHOUT ATTEMPTING TO REACH ANY CONCLUSIONS.

QUESTION: DID YOU SEE ANYTHING IN THAT SPEECH THAT LOOKED AT ALL ENCOURAGING (INAUDIBLE)?

SECRETARY VANCE: IT LOOKED VERY MUCH LIKE WHAT I'VE READ BEFORE IN RESPECT TO THE RUSSIAN POSITION ON THE MIDDLE EAST.

QUESTION: WHAT ABOUT ARMS SALES?

SECRETARY VANCE: WE WILL BE DISCUSSING THE QUESTION OF ARMS SALES FOR THE MIDDLE EAST AND THAT IS ONE WHERE CERTAINLY I HOPE WE COULD MAKE SOME PROGRESS. I THINK IT'S GOING TO BE DIFFICULT TO DO SO BECAUSE IN THE PAST THE SOVIETS HAVE INDICATED THAT ANY PROGRESS IN THE FIELD OF ARMS SALES TO THE MIDDLE EAST WOULD HAVE TO WAIT FOR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, DOES THE FACT THAT WE'RE BRINGING TWO PROPOSALS TO THE RUSSIANS MEAN THAT WE WOULDN'T CONSIDER ANY THIRD PROPOSAL? (INAUDIBLE)

SECRETARY VANCE: WE'RE OPEN AND WILL ALWAYS LISTEN TO WHATEVER THE SOVIETS HAVE TO SAY AND IF IT SEEMS FAIR AND EQUITABLE OF COURSE WE WOULD TAKE THAT INTO CONSIDERATION IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THEM.

QUESTION: (INAUDIBLE)

SECRETARY VANCE: THE ESSENTIALS ARE, BUT THERE MAY BE MINOR ASPECTS UPON WHICH WE WOULD BE WILLING TO DISCUSS VARIATIONS. BUT NOT THE ESSENTIALS.

QUESTION: NOT THE ESSENTIALS OF THE COMPREHENSIVE PACKAGE?  
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SECRETARY VANCE: NO, THE ESSENTIALS OF THE COMPREHENSIVE PACKAGE WE THINK ARE FUNDAMENTAL AND ...

QUESTIONS: AND NOT SUBJECT TO (INAUDIBLE)?

SECRETARY VANCE: NO SUBJECT TO.

QUESTION: SPECIFICALLY, MR. SECRETARY, THE RUSSIANS WANTED TO TAKE IN EFFECT THE (INAUDIBLE) PACKAGE BUT INCLUDE SOME SORT OF A CEILING ON THE (INAUDIBLE) CRUISE MISSILE. WILL THAT BE AN ...

SECRETARY VANCE: I DON'T WANT TO GO INTO SPECIFICS.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, DO YOU EXPECT A SOVIET COUNTER-PROPOSAL (INAUDIBLE)?

SECRETARY VANCE: I REALLY DON'T KNOW.

QUESTION: ... MAY HAVE A PROPOSAL READY TO GO...?

SECRETARY VANCE: I HONESTLY DON'T KNOW WHAT THEY'RE GOING TO DO. MY DISCUSSIONS WITH THEM HAVE BEEN VERY, VERY LIMITED UP TO THIS POINT, SOLELY THROUGHT THEIR AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON. I DON'T HAVE ANY IDEA AS TO WHAT THEY WILL OR WILL NOT PUT ON THE TABLE WHEN WE GET TO MOSCOW.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, THE SOVIETS FEEL THAT THE UNITED STATES IS COMING AT THEM WITH A TOTALLY NEW PROPOSAL WHICH THE SOVIETS MAINTAIN IS UNWARRANTED AND WIPES OUT THE YEARS OF EFFORT SPENT ON NEGOTIATION (INAUDIBLE) VLADIVOSTOK. WHAT IS YOUR ACTUAL VIEW AS TO HOW FAR YOU CAN POSSIBLY GET IN A MATTER OF A FEW DAYS ON SUCH A FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE?

SECRETARY VANCE: AS I INDICATED, WHAT WE'RE TRYING TO REACH IS AGREEMENT ON A FRAMEWORK. WE THINK THE FUNDAMENTAL PACKAGE UNCLASSIFIED

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PROVIDES THAT FRAMEWORK. THE DETAILS OBVIOUSLY CANNOT BE NEGOTIATED IN A FEW DAYS, BUT IF WE CAN AGREE THAT THAT'S THE FRAMEWORK THEN WE CAN GO TO GENEVA AND THERE NEGOTIATE ON THE DETAILS.

QUESTION: THE OTHER PART OF THAT QUESTION IS HOW DOES THE UNITED STATES RESPOND TO THE QUESTION OR THE CONTENTION THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS NOT BEEN BARGAINING WITH HENRY KISSINGER OR JERRY FORD BUT WITH THE UNITED STATES. THE UNITED STATES IS NOW PROPOSING A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN WHAT WAS AGREED UPON AT VLADIVOSTOK?

SECRETARY VANCE: THE OBJECTIVE OF SALT IS TO REDUCE THE ARMS RACE AND TO MAKE REAL PROGRESS IN CUTTING BACK ON THE NUMBER

OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON BOTH SIDES THUS ENDING UP WITH ROUGH PARITY  
ON BOTH SIDES. WE BELIEVE THAT THE SO-CALLED COMPREHENSIVE PACKAGE  
DOES JUST THAT AND THEREFORE THE SOONER WE CAN GET ON TO MAKING  
REAL PROGRESS THE BETTER OFF BOTH SIDES ARE.

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O 272020Z MAR 77 ZFF-6  
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
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FOR S/PRS: DEPARTMENT PASS NSC FOR DR. BREZEZINSKI  
AND WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. POWELL; USIA FOR IPS/PE

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, WHAT IS YOUR PURPOSE IN  
BRUSSELS? ARE YOU COMING HERE TO REASSURE NATO AND THE ALLIES  
THAT THE UNITED STATES KNOWS WHAT IT'S DOING IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS  
CAMPAIGN, OR ARE YOU COMING HERE TO GIVE THEM A PREVIEW OF WHAT  
YOU EXPECT WHEN YOU GET TO MOSCOW?

SECRETARY VANCE: I'M COMING TO BRUSSELS TO GIVE OUR NATO  
ALLIES AN OVERVIEW OF WHAT WE WILL BE DISCUSSING IN MOSCOW AND CON-  
SULT WITH THEM ON PROPOSALS WHICH WE WILL BE PUTTING TO THE  
RUSSIANS.

QUESTION: IN GENERAL DO YOU FIND THE EUROPEANS HAVE A BETTER  
APPRECIATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN, OR ARE THEY SOMEWHAT  
QUESTIONING OF ITS PRODUCTIVITY?

SECRETARY VANCE: I THINK IN GENERAL THEY SHARE OUR DEEPLY-HELD  
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BELIEFS WITH RESPECT TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND I SHALL FIND OUT MORE ABOUT THEIR INDIVIDUAL VIEWS, I AM SURE, IN OUR MEETINGS THIS MORNING.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, (INAUDIBLE)?

SECRETARY VANCE: BECAUSE BY TO (INAUDIBLE) CUTS YOU'RE GOING TO END UP WITH GREATER STABILITY AND GREATER STABILITY LESSENS THE LIKELIHOOD OF NUCLEAR WAR. IT'S AS SIMPLE AS THAT.

QUESTION: (INAUDIBLE)?

SECRETARY VANCE: I'LL GET INTO THAT IN GREATER DETAIL WITH YOU LATER ON AS WE GET INTO THE TRIP.

QUESTION: WILL WE BE ABLE TO SEE YOU IN MOSCOW?

SECRETARY VANCE: OH SURE, I AM GOING TO TRY TO MEET WITH YOU ONCE A DAY IN MOSCOW SO THAT I CAN FILL YOU IN ON WHAT'S GOING ON.

QUESTION: WHAT ARE YOUR PLANS ON SUNDAY, MR. SECRETARY?

SECRETARY VANCE: I'M GOING TO BE GETTING READY FOR MONDAY.

QUESTION: ARE YOU GOING TO THE EMBASSY? ARE YOU GOING TO GO TO THE BALLET? ARE YOU GOING TO MAKE AN APPEARANCE WITH THE VISITING PRESS?

SECRETARY VANCE: NO, I'M GOING TO BE SPENDING MOST OF MY DAY AT THE EMBASSY WORKING. IF I CAN GET ALL MY WORK DONE I'M GOING TO TRY TO GO TO THE BALLET ON SUNDAY NIGHT.

QUESTION: COULD I ASK YOU ONE OTHER QUESTION, MR. SECRETARY? COULD WE GET SOME IDEA FROM YOU, MR. SECRETARY, AS TO WHAT YOU EXPECT IN THE WAY OF ATMOSPHERICS AT THE START OF THESE TALKS  
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WITH THE RUSSIANS?

SECRETARY VANCE: I WOULD GATHER THAT FROM WHAT I READ IN THE NEWSPAPERS THERE WILL BE HARD BARGAINING ON BOTH SIDES BUT I WOULD HOPE THAT THE ATMOSPHERE WOULD BE BUSINESSLIKE AND CORDIAL. I AM CERTAIN FROM OUR SIDE THAT THAT WILL BE THE CASE.

QUESTION: DO THE RUSSIANS KNOW WE MIGHT (INAUDIBLE)?

SECRETARY VANCE: NO, IT'S UNLIKELY, MY GUESS IS WE'LL PROBABLY  
BE LEAVING ON THURSDAY. ALL I'M SAYING IS THAT I DON'T FEEL  
CONSTRAINED BY TIME.

QUESTION: BECAUSE OF THE INORDINATE COMPLEXITIES OF THIS  
SUBJECT (INAUDIBLE) THERE WILL BE MANY TIMES DURING THE DAY WHEN  
(INAUDIBLE)?

SECRETARY VANCE: WE'RE GOING TO HAVE THE OTHER EXPERTS HERE  
WHO CAN ANSWER THE TECHNICAL QUESTIONS.  
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## Message Attributes

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